

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 /085 W

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R 241600Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0000

INFO AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 0101

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SF

SUBJECT: PM AND HOMELAND LEADERS: NO MAJOR CONCESSIONS

REF: CAPE TOWN 0068

1. SUMMARY: NOT SURPRISINGLY, MEETING OF PRIME MINISTER VORSTER WITH EIGHT HOMELAND LEADERS JANUARY 22 PRODUCED NO MAJOR CONCESSIONS ON SAG'S URBAN AFRICAN POLICY. VORSTER SAID GOVT WOULD "SYMPATHETICALLY CONSIDER" SOME MINOR MODIFICATION OF EXISTING REGULATIONS AND LAWS CONCERNING LAND TENURE AND BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES FOR URBAN BLACKS. HE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED NEED FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION ON SEVERAL TOPICS INCLUDING INFLUX CONTROL, BUT MADE CLEAR THAT LIMITATIONS ON FREE MOVEMENT OF AFRICANS WOULD NOT BE CHANGED. HIGHLIGHT OF MEETING WAS "FRIENDLY WARNING" FROM KWAZULU CHIEF MINISTER GATSHA BUTHELEZI TO VORSTER TO PUT UP OR SHUT UP ON ISSUES ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND HOMELAND DEVELOPMENT OR FACE BLACK DISRUPTION OF SOCIETY. VORSTER, AS WELL AS SOME HOMELAND LEADERS, MAY

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HAVE VIEWED BUTHELEZI'S WARNING MORE AS A THREAT. BUTHELEZI QUOTED

IN PRESS AS REJECTING MINIMAL CONFERENCE GAINS AS "CRUMBS FROM MR. VORSTER'S TABLE." GENERAL IMPRESSION IS THAT MEETING ACCOMPLISHED LITTLE OF NOTE, THOUGH ONE BLACK PARTICIPANT HAS TOLD US THAT IT WAS "CONSTRUCTIVE AND OPENED THE DOOR" FOR MORE CONSULTATION. END SUMMARY.

2. CHIEF MINISTERS OF EIGHT BLACKHOMELANDS MET JAN 22 IN CAPE TOWN WITH PM VORSTER. MAIN TOPIC OF MEETING WAS PLIGHT OF URBAN BLACKS. BY TERMS OF SAG'S SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT POLICY, CITY DWELLERS ARE CITIZENS OF INDIVIDUAL ETHNIC HOMELANDS AND HOMELAND CHIEF MINISTERS ARE THEIR ONLY LEGITIMATE SPOKESMEN. CHIEF MINISTER OF GAZAEKULU, HUDSON NTSANWISI, TOLD AMBASSADOR AND EMBOFFS JAN 23 THAT VORSTER HAD BEEN GENERALLY SYMPATHETIC AND AMICABLE DURING MEETING. ALLEGATIONS OF MISTREATMENT OF URBAN BLACKS WERE SUPPORTED, ACCORDING TO NTSANWISI, BY DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU AFFAIRS PUNT JANSON, MUCH TO APPARENT CONSTERNATION OF HIS NOTABLY HARD-NUT BOSS, M.C. BOTHA. THOUGH VORSTER SYMPATHETIC ON SOME ISSUES, HE MADE CLEAR THAT HE WOULD ENTERTAIN NO CHANGES IN SAG POLICY OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT. CONSEQUENTLY, HOMELAND LEADERS' REQUEST FOR SCRAPPING OF INFLUX CONTROL SYSTEM AND PASS LAWS, ADVOCACY OF RIGHTS OF URBAN BLACKS TO OWN LAND AND OTHER SPECIAL PLEAS WERE REJECTED BY PM.

3. VORSTER DID HOWEVER OFFER, BY WAY OF MINOR CONCESSION, TO "CONSIDER SYMPATHETICALLY" CHANGING LAWS TO ALLOW URBAN BLACKS "A FORM OF LEASHOLD BUT NOT LAND OWNERSHIP." THOUGH TERMS OF LEASEHOLD ARRANGEMENTS NOT CLEAR, IT PROBABLE THAT NEW POLICY WILL ALLOW URBAN BLACKS TO OWN HOMES, BUT NOT LAND UNDER THEM, ON LIFETIME BASIS. VORSTER ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HOMELAND CRITICISM OF RESTRICTIONS ON BLACK BUSINESSMEN IN URBAN AREAS VALID AND NEW REGULATIONS MUST BE DEVELOPED. VORSTER APPARENTLY AGREED THAT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF INFLUX CONTROL MACHINERY AND PASS LAWS WERE UNFAIR AND OFFERED TO HAVE DEPT OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION MEET WITH THREE HOMELAND LEADERS TO DISCUSS WAYS OF IMPROVING SYSTEM. (BUTHELEZI WAS ONLY LEADER TO REJECT PARTICIPATION IN COMMISSION TO ELIMINATE "PRINPRICKS" WHILE ENTIRE UNJUST PASS LAW EDIFICE WILL BE ALLOWED TO STAND.) PM ASSERTED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO INFLUX CONTROL. HE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR

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THAT BLACK CITY DWELLERS WOULD NOT BE GRANTED MORE SAY IN THEIR CIVIC AFFAIRS, AND REJECTED A RECOMMENDATION FROM BUTHELEZI THAT SOWETO BE MADE A HOMELAND.

4. ON VARIETY OF OTHER TOPICS, VORSTER MADE NO CONCESSIONS, BUT IMPRESSED SOME OF THOSE ATTENDING BY OFFERING TO HAVE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. ON THE IMPORTANT ISSUE OF BLACK TRADE UNION RIGHTS, PM STATED THAT HIS POSITION HAD BEEN EXPLAINED

IN PARLIAMENT, BUT THAT HOMELAND LEADERS COULD DISCUSS IT WITH MINISTER OF LABOR. EDUCATIONAL, TRANSPORT AND OTHER RESIDENTIAL PROBLEMS IN URBAN AREAS WILL ALSO BE FURTHER INVESTIGATED, VORSTER PROMISED.

5. PRIME MINISTER REFUSED TO AGREE TO DEMANDS FOR RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, BUT DID NOTE THAT GOVT WOULD CONSIDER POSITION OF BLACKS WHO HAD LEFT COUNTRY WITHOUT PASSPORTS OR ON EXIT PERMITS AND WISHED TO RETURN, PROVIDED THAT THEY WERE NOT "AVOWED COMMUNISTS." VORSTER TOLD LEADERS THAT BANNING OF ROBERT SOBUKWE WOULD BE SUBJECTED TO ADDITIONAL REVIEW BY MINISTER OF JUSTICE, BUT WAS ADAMANT THAT NELSON MANDELA, WHO HAD "BOASTED" THAT HE WAS A COMMUNIST, WOULD GET NO SYMPATHY FROM HIM.

6. IN MEMORANDUM READ TO MEETING, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU, GATSHA BUTHELEZI, CHALLENGED VORSTER TO EXPLAIN RECENT GOVT STATEMENTS THAT COUNTRY MOVING AWAY FROM RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. BUTHELEZI ARGUED THAT DETENTE WITH BLACK AFRICA WOULD BE MEANINGLESS UNLESS VORSTER COULD PROMOTE UNITY OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE. BUTHELEZI STATED THAT UNLESS EQUITABLE CONSOLIDATION OF HOMELAND AREAS WAS OFFERED BY GOVT, CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND DISRUPTION OF SERVICES WOULD BE THE ONLY LOGICAL ALTERNATIVE. THOUGH LEBOWA CHIEF MINISTER PHATUDI HAS TOLD US THAT "SPIRIT OF GATSHA'S MEMORANDUM WAS NOT DEFIANT, BUT RATHER A WARNING FROM AN INTERESTED PARTY," IT CLEAR THAT AT LEAST SOME OF WHITES, AND PERHAPS SOME BLACKS ATTENDING MEETING, INTERPRETED BUTHELEZI'S REMARKS AS A THREAT AND PERHAPS OUT OF KEEPING WITH RELATIVELY AMICABLE SPIRIT OF MEETING.

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SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04 SIL-01 /085 W

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R 241600Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4354  
INFO AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMCONSUL GABORONE  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG  
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AMEMBASSY MASERU  
AMEMBASSY MBABANE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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7. BUTHELEZI IS QUOTED IN JAN 24 PRESS AS REJECTING PM'S  
MINIMAL CONCESSIONS AS "CRUMBS FROM MR. VORSTER'S TABLE."  
FACT THAT HOMELAND LEADERS NOT PLEASED BY MEETING ALSO  
CONVEYED TO AMBASSADOR BY GAZANKULU CHIEF MINISTER NTSANWISI,  
WHO WAS CLEARLY DISAPPOINTED, BUT NOT SURPRISED, THAT NO  
MAJOR CONCESSIONS HAD BEEN MADE. ON OTHER HAND, PHATUDI  
PRIVATELY SAID THAT TALKS WERE "CONSTRUCTIVE AND OPENED DOOR"  
FOR MORE CONVERSATIONS.

8. COMMENT: VORSTER'S STRATEGY IN TALKS WITH HOMELAND  
LEADERS--AS IN NEXT DAY'S MEETING WITH COLORED REPRESENTATIVE  
COUNCIL (SEPTEL)--IS CLEAR. HE HAS REPEATEDLY INDICATED HIS  
GOVERNMENT IS FULLY COMMITTED TO IMPLEMENTING POLICY OF SEPARATE  
DEVELOPMENT. THIS COMMITMENT TEMPERED, BUT NOT ALTERED, BY  
NAIVE ASPIRATION OF SOME IN GOVT  
TO "HUMANIZE APARTHEID," BLITHELY  
UNAWARE THAT CIRCLES CANNOT BE SQUARED. VORSTER'S MINIMAL  
CONCESSIONS WHICH MIGHT MAKE LIFE FOR SOME URBAN BLACKS  
MARGINALLY EASIER SHOULD BE SEEN IN THIS LIGHT. LACK OF  
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REAL GAINS FOR URBAN BLACKS WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE LEADERSHIP  
POSITION FOR HOMELAND LEADERS DIFFICULT. BY GOVERNMENT  
FIAT THEY ARE ONLY BLACKS QUALIFIED TO SPEAK FOR CITY DWELLERS,  
BUT BY GOVERNMENT ACTION THEIR PLEAS GO UNHEEDED. DIFFICULT  
AT THIS POINT TO KNOW FULLY WHAT BUTHELEZI'S INTENT WAS AT  
MEETING. HOWEVER, IN RECENT WRITINGS AND IN MEMORANDUM  
ITSELF HE REFERRED TO HIS DIFFICULT ROLE AS HOMELAND LEADER  
AND CONTINUED CRITICISM OF HIM AND OTHERS AS GOVERNMENT  
"COLLABORATORS." IF HE WAS INTEMPERATE AT MEETING, IT  
WOULD BE LOGICAL AND UNDERSTANDABLE EMOTION OF A MAN PLACED  
IN UNTENABLE POSITION BY FORCES BEYOND HIS IMMEDIATE CONTROL.

9. COPIES OF BUTHELEZI'S MEMORANDUM AND GOVT COMMUNIQUE  
ISSUED AFTER MEETING WILL BE POUCED TO AF/S.  
HURD

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## Message Attributes

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